593 of the couple among the Nambikwara. It is the economic and psycho-
593 logical unit par excellence. Not only among errant bands which are
182 made and unmade unceasingly does the couple appear as the only
762 stable reality (at least theoretically), but it is the couple alone which assures the subsistence of the members of the group. The Nambikwara live under a double economy: the economy of hunters and gardeners on one hand, the economy of collectors and gatherers on the other. The first is assured by the man, the second by the woman. While the masculine group departs for a whole day to hunt, armed with bows and arrows, or works in the gardens during the rainy season, the women, armed with digging implements, wander with their children across the plain, and gather, pull out, pick, capture, seize [55] everything on their route that is worthy of serving as food: grain, fruits, berries, roots, tubers, eggs, small animals of all sorts. At the end of the day, the couple meets around the fire. When the manioc
[153] is ripe, and as long as it remains so, the man brings a bundle of roots which the women pound and press to make a kind of pancake (uridnom, aI). and when the hunt has been fruitful, they rapidly cook pieces of small animals by burying them under the burning cinders of the family fire. But for seven months of the year, manioc is rare. As for the hunt, it is most often a matter of chance in these sterile sands
[137] where a skinny small animal hardly ever leaves the shade, and the pasture lands at the heads of rivers are separated from one another by considerable stretches of semi-desert brush. Thus, the family
●[54] must most often subsist on the collection of the women. Very often we have attended (and sometimes shared) these diabolical doll-size snacks which, for the Nambikwara, for half the year, are the only hope of not dying of hunger. When the man, silent and fatigued, re-
[242] turns to camp and throws his bow and arrows which he could not use to one side, from the basket of the woman is extracted an extraordinary and moving collection: some orange fruit from the buriti palm (u2dru, aI, u[illegible]nde, bI, gola, c), two fat poisonous spiders (hoxalu, aI, ku[illegible]nde, bI), some tiny lizards' eggs and some of these animals (kazaherim, aI, nagade, bI, talime, c), a bat, some small nuts from the bacaiuva palm (arooleem, aI, ku[illegible]nde, bI), or uaguassu (aradikim, aI). a handful of grasshoppers (takedam, aI tagam,
[152] bI, tadi, c). The pulpy fruits are crushed with the hands in a calabash filled with water, the nuts cracked with the blows of a stone, the animals and larvae buried pell-mell in the coals; and this repast is gaily devoured, a meal which would not be sufficient to satisfy the hunger of a white person, but which feeds a family here.

274 It is a curious fact that palm cabbage (palmito) is not utilized by the Serra do Norte Indians. Gabriel Soares [234] made it clear in 1587 that the aborigines of the coast prized the leaf buds of the palm tree: "Stupendous palm cabbages, five or six spans in length and as thick as a man's leg, are extracted from the buds of these palms."

273 Pineapple wine was a common beverage, for Soares goes on to say: "The nature of this fruit is hot and humid, and it is very harmful [271] to those with open wounds or sores; the same pineapples, when green [257] are good for curing sores, for their juice eats away all the rotten and putrid flesh, and the aborigines know this; in such wise does this fruit [247] eat away, that they use its rind to wipe off the rust from their swords and knives and to remove the stains from the clothes they wash; when ripe, the juice is used by the Indians to make a wine which inebriates them; to this end they pluck the fruit not quite ripe, on account of its being more sour..."

263 The Indians of the Serra do Norte found our salted food unpleasant. They often refused the plates we set before them, giving us to understand that it was the salty flavor which led them to behave in this manner.

262 Milk (condensed milk) was also rejected in the beginning; they would make a face and say that it was human milk and therefore repulsive: [235] "Azangça!"

261 One must know the Indians' gluttony, their insatiable hunger, their continual, unfailing, artless, persistent animus devorandi, fully to comprehend the disgust which led them to such a renunciation.

252 The children are given to eat of everything; no matter what 255 goes into an Indian's mouth, there is always a crumb for the little one who walks beside him or rests in his arms.

278 Even the stimulants they use--tobacco, for instance--are shared 255 with the children. More than once I had the opportunity to observe Indians giving cigarettes to children under two. (1)

[13]

1. Cf. E. Roquette-Pinto, "A condição da criança entre os indios do Brasil [The Status of the Child Among the Indians of Brazil," Primeiro Congresso Americano da Criança [First American Congress on Childhood] (Tucumán, 1916).

264 The children partake of a meal immediately; the women eat later... whatever is left over, if there is a leftover. This, by the way, is the rule even among civilized Indians... But in general, if there is plenty, each helps himself to whatever there is, when he wishes and as he wishes: the food belongs to all.

262 [236] They skillfully remove the gall bladder from the liver of the animals they devour, but they do not have a special name for it.

[252] Aarú is a cake which the Cocoau prepare by pounding up a whole roasted armadillo in a mortar until its bones are completely mashed, and then mixing it with manioc dough in the form of beiju.

[225] An upland rat (Scapteromys gnambiquarae, Miranda Ribeiro), which the Parecsi call cólori, is prized by the Nambicuara as a delicacy. They call it arantaçú.

241 They gather and utilize the produce of their husbandry from day to day. They have no special harvesting time, and no stores or surpluses except for the tobacco which they keep between two sticks hanging from the ceiling thatch.

251 There is always manioc dough in the house: it is the Nambicuara bread, which they eat with all their other foods. They keep the dough in large baskets lined with pacova (1) leaves.

1. A kind of banana. (Ed.)

[237] Leftover honey is kept in the gourd; it does not reach fermentation because the desire [to drink it] soon revives in some Indian...

241 We did not see any rite connected with food; but the soldier
[15] Gouveia, who was held prisoner in a Nambicuara village for six months in 1911, witnessed such a ceremony. The Indians of that village (which was named Urutau) had killed a large tapir. (1) This was
[18]

1. Tapirus americanus, fairly abundant along the rivers of the area. Hard to catch because very wary.

[the pretext for] a feast. They dragged the animal to the village plaza. Then the men went off into the bush to gather branches with

261 which they covered themselves, squatting in a circle beneath the leaves and singing all the while. After a long time they rose, and with the branches still tied to their backs they started dancing around their catch, which was later carved.

115 Unhappily, Gouveia was of an amazing inadequacy. He had lived among them, a captive, for six months; he had actually married an Indian woman, who had tried her best to teach him the language of her forefathers. Yet in the end he fled, bringing back only the vaguest sort of information such as the above, which nevertheless I have deemed proper to record here.

276 Of the stimulants customarily used by primitive peoples, tobacco is the most important [among the Nambicuara] aside from those alcoholic beverages which have already been mentioned.

I have stated earlier that they dry the leaves between two pieces of wood which they stick into the house thatch; when they wish to smoke, they take a leaf and crumble it between their fingers, rolling up the dust in another leaf plucked from a tree which the Cocozu call enandrú.

[238] They also keep tobacco by reducing the leaves to dust which they store in special gourds.

[Fig. 28]

[177] Prior to the arrival of the Rondon Commission, the pipe was unknown among the people of the Serra do Norte. Even today they do not like it and prefer their cigarettes, which are small and quite unlike the huge rolls of some Amazon tribes. (Fig. 30)

Their tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum) is mild and pleasantly scented. On journeys they always carry gourds filled with tobacco dust, or sticks with tobacco leaves; if they feel like smoking somewhere along the way, they stop and form a circle. They proceed as if they were about to have a meal and kindle a small fire. When the cigarettes are finished they continue on their way.

They are extremely fond of our roll tobacco, especially when made into cigarettes with pieces of newspaper...

271 The Indians of the Serra do Norte go naked. Both men and
184 women wear a straw cord around the hips. The Cocozu wear bands of <u>embira</u> around the wrists and upper arms, below the knees and